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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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## I.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THE growth of our country in population and power is wonderful. Before the close of this century, if our progress goes on at the ratio of the past, our numbers will exceed eighty millions. It is a just source of pride that we have not become great by arts of diplomacy, or by conquests gained by wars. The captives we have taken are not those of force, but prisoners of peace drawn to our shores by the desire to enjoy with us the liberties of the land, and the plenty which Providence has given us. While the different nations of Europe watch with jealous and hostile eyes the comparative progress and power of each—while peace in the minds of its statesmen means armed neutrality always threatening war—we have drawn from their population by beneficent influences more than the most successful in arms have been able to capture from those into whose territories they have carried death and devastation. We have taken by immigration from Germany greater numbers than that empire wrested from France in the last war between those powers.

But at this time, when so many facts tend to fill our hearts with pride and gratitude, we are perplexed by the general depression of business, and the distress of large classes of our citizens. We now feel the full cost of the late civil war, and the force of

the reaction which springs from wild speculation. Our desire for wealth has outstripped the swift growth of our country, and a greed for gain has tempted us to disregard the laws of prudence, industry, and economy, and to grasp at wealth by schemes which in the end have plunged us into many public and private disasters. We find that habits of extravagance are more easily acquired than cast off. We are not yet ready to admit the truth that we have brought these evils upon ourselves, and that we must go back to the tried pathways by which our country reached its greatness. This state of affairs gives birth to wild and conflicting schemes about finances, social order, and the policies of government. These discordant theories range from the doctrines of the communist who would overturn our social structures, to those of the timid, half-hearted believers in our government who wish to go back to restraints and powers exerted by the monarchs of Europe. Many fear that grave evils will grow out of these conflicts of opinion. But those who have studied with care the principles and workings of our political institutions look upon them as sources of good rather than of evil. They feel that our system is not only more conservative than all others, but that it has less to fear from wild theories or from party passions.

Distress always makes discontent, and men who are in trouble turn with interest and hope to every proposed remedy. It is our duty to treat their views with respect, for, while their theories may be false, their sufferings are real. It is well that we are taught by popular agitation the existence of evils. It is necessary for those who have charge of public affairs to learn what men have in their minds, what views they hold, at what ends they aim. We can gain many truths from those who may hold mistaken opinions. One of the advantages we enjoy under our form of government is, that we can let false notions cure themselves. It is not necessary for the public safety to restrain freedom of speech. It is a striking fact that, while the monarchs of Germany and Russia, with vast armies under their control, are disturbed and endangered by the theories of socialists or other revolutionary associations, we listen to them without fear. We allow the utmost freedom of speech, and we rely upon the good sense of our people to make harmless all appeals to prejudice. Elsewhere the violent passions or insane egotism of a theorist

may lead him to shoot a monarch and to shake a state. Here he can only indulge in violent declamation which may attract a passing notice, and then he sinks into hopeless obscurity. In Europe his teachings are deemed dangerous to social order. Here they serve only to satisfy the public of the folly of his views, and to strengthen the public faith in the value of social order and of time-tested truths. On the whole, such men are useful to us. Their vanity dies out where no one cares for their opinions. Without the aid of persecution they sink into pitiable helplessness. After a time the truth gets through their addled brains that their speeches and writings only help the social system which they seek to overthrow. Most of them become industrious citizens, gain some property, and abhor the idea of sharing it with less fortunate or more idle associates. The follies of fanatics frequently teach wisdom better than the words of the wise.

But the purpose of the writer is not to speak of the different theories which have their origin in the depression of industry. Our country will soon rise above its business troubles. It is enough to say that the conflicting opinions held by the numerous organizations which have recently sprung up will not only teach us many truths and lead us to just ideas about business and finances, but they will also turn our attention to the theory and genius of our government. We will learn that our prosperity and progress are not alone due to our material advantages, but in a great degree are the results of our forms of government. There are other lands with ample territories, with climates as genial, with soils as productive as ours, which show no signs of growth and greatness. The passions stirred up by civil war, and the speculative excitements which followed it, have led us to neglect truths which we should ever bear in mind. Something may be gained by recalling even familiar facts, as they may allay the fears of those who distrust the future by showing that ours is the most conservative government in existence; that under it each man can do much to promote the public interests, and the duty rests upon him to do what he can to uphold the honor and the welfare of our republic.

While we boast of our progress, we find ourselves confronted by great problems in the near-by future. From this time our average increase will probably be more than a million and a half each

year, more than four thousand each day, more than one hundred and seventy each fleeting hour! This is a growth unparalleled in the history of the world, and throws into the shade the results of European struggles in war or of the subtilties of diplomacy in peace. The question is forced upon our minds, Are our systems of State or General governments fitted to meet such vast and rapid changes? What are the leading features of our political policy which has served us so well heretofore, and upon which we place our trust to carry us safely through the years to come? To get clear views upon these points, we must dispel many false ideas with regard to the theory and structure of our political institutions. It is a common opinion that our government differs from others because we hold that power rightfully belongs to the majority, and that it is based upon a belief in the general intelligence of the people. While there is a measure of truth in these assertions, they nevertheless mislead us with regard to the distinctive features of our political system. We confound our methods of getting at the will of the majority with the measure of power given to the majority. All civilized governments claim that they represent the popular will, and to a great extent they do; for at this day no civilized government could stand that deeply and persistently offended the body of the people. These would soon find a way of overturning it, if not by ballots, then by bayonets. No monarch in Europe dare say he holds his throne in defiance of the wishes of his people. They all claim that their powers are based upon the will, the intelligence, and patriotism, of their citizens. While we have, in our methods of voting and representation, clear and effective ways of showing the popular will, these do not give popular power. It is a remarkable fact that ours is the only system which declares that the majority shall not govern in many vital respects; that it has devised a plan by which it can be held in check; and that each individual has defenses against the will of the body of the people and the power of the government which represents them. The distinctive features of American constitutions are not that they aim to give power to majorities, but that they aim to protect the rights of minorities, and this is done by methods which are in strong contrast with anything attempted elsewhere.

There are many things that the majority and Government

cannot do. The writ of *habeas corpus* cannot be suspended unless in cases of rebellion or invasion; no bill of attainder can be passed; no tax laid upon any article exported from any State; no laws can be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right to assemble and petition Government for a redress of grievances. The right to keep and bear arms cannot be infringed; the right to be secure in their persons and houses against unreasonable searches and seizures cannot be violated. No person can be held to answer for capital or other infamous crimes, unless upon indictment of a grand-jury, etc. If our Constitution merely made these declarations, it might be said that it only stated in terms what was as clearly set forth in the unwritten maxims of other states; that the Englishman holds in as high regard what he calls the Constitution of Great Britain as we do the documents on which are written out our State or national covenants—for he claims that these unwritten maxims give equal protection to minorities or individuals, and that the spirit of laws is held as sacred as are the letters of constitutions. But our fathers did not stop with declarations. They fortified the rights of States and persons by placing the judiciary for this purpose above the executive and the law-making powers. This is the great distinguishing feature of our government. In this we stand alone among the peoples of the earth. If the Parliament of Great Britain enact laws with the assent of the crown, they must be enforced by the judiciary and the whole power of the kingdom, although they trample upon every maxim held sacred, or upon every right of person or of conscience. There is no remedy but repeal or revolution. In this country our courts declare such laws to be void, and they will not enforce nor permit them to be enforced by the executive nor any other power, although they trench upon the rights of but one citizen standing against the whole people.

Not only are the powers of the majority acting through their representatives checked in these respects, but the majority, in fact, are not allowed to control the most powerful branch of Congress, the Senate, which not only has equal power of legislation with the House of Representatives, but has also the power of approving or of rejecting treaties. About one-fourth of the people

have as many Senators as the remaining three-fourths. This inequality in principle if not in degree was designed by the framers of the Constitution to keep the majority in check, and to protect the rights and interests of the States having small populations. By the constitutional plan of distributing the electoral votes, a President may be elected over a candidate who is supported by a majority of the people. Beyond the electors who represent the population in each State, two electoral votes are given to each of them. The majority of the people live in ten States; they get twenty of these. The minority, living in twenty-eight States, get fifty-six of the senatorial electoral votes. This, if they should act in concert, enables them to elect a President over the majority. The purpose, in making the General Government one which does not strictly represent the people of the United States, was to protect minorities, and to keep it within its constitutional limits. This purpose is shown more clearly in the article about amendments, where it is provided that no changes can be made in the Constitution unless two-thirds of the House and of the Senate shall propose them, and then, in addition, they are ratified by three-fourths of the States. If more than one-quarter of the States object to an amendment, although they are small States with less than a tenth of the population of the country, it falls.

If we look into State constitutions, we find like restraints upon the power of majorities, by articles taking from their representatives the right to pass many laws which they could enact but for such restraints. These prohibitions have been multiplied of late. They are numerous in the constitution of New York. It not only repeats those set forth in that of the General Government, but it adds many others. Among them are prohibitions against the creation of debts, the use of the public money for many purposes, and the right to give to cities or towns the power to make loans to aid corporations. The whole course of constitutional legislation, in all the States, shows that the spirit and genius of our political system tend to check the power of majorities, either acting directly or through their representatives, and to secure to each individual the rights of person, property, and conscience.

The writer states these facts to correct the impression, which prevails in our country and elsewhere, that the individual or mi-

norities are swallowed up by the majority, and made helpless to resist wrong or to uphold the right. Every man can, if he will, be potent for these purposes. The fact that majorities have great control in our country is not one which distinguishes it from all other people, for power always in some way inheres with the majority, by force of ballots or bayonets, by elections or revolutions, by regular or convulsive methods. The distinguishing feature of our government is, that it is the only one which attempts to restrain and check this power, although it may be acting in accord with the popular will. In other words, it is the only government which attempts to protect the rights of minorities and of localities against the power of majorities; and for that purpose it has worked out a political organization unparalleled in any other country or in any other period of the world's history.

It is also constantly stated that our system depends upon the general intelligence of our people. It is true that, without popular intelligence, virtue, and patriotism, we shall sink into anarchy, corruption, and ruin. But this is true of all other civilized nations. They speedily fall into decay without the same virtues. This great truth, as it is usually expressed, does not carry with it a full and a clear idea of the nature of that intelligence upon which our government depends. We demand not only general intelligence, as it is required elsewhere, but in addition special intelligences, without which our political system cannot be conducted. Its peculiarity, which distinguishes it from all others, is, that it must be aided by those special intelligences which make its very life, and which, in numerous instances, can carry on certain functions of government, even where general intelligence may be wanting. What is meant by special intelligence is, for instance, this: A man lacking education, and with a limited knowledge, may be so placed that he knows better than much wiser men where a road should be laid or a schoolhouse built, and he may have a deeper interest than others in having those things well done. Wise men will, therefore, give to him the control of this work. The same theory is true of many other affairs which concern the welfare of society. Our fathers, before our independence, and when they shaped our system of government, were forced by the then state of society to avail themselves of such special intelligences. These not only served to promote the interests of the colonies, but they

enabled the framers of our Constitution to solve problems where the world said they would fail. No man can understand the spirit and genius of our political institutions who does not trace out the uses made by our fathers of these special intelligences, nor can he feel as he should his duties and rights as a citizen, unless he sees clearly that our system imposes upon him certain work which he can perform, and which will be productive of good, despite the power of majorities, or even the lack of general intelligence in the community in which he lives.

It is not the purpose of this article to present any partisan views of the distribution of power between the General and State governments, or to touch any controverted political point. Its design is to show that every citizen, without regard to majorities and without undertaking to change the minds or elevate the general intelligence of the American people, can so use his special power and intelligence as to promote the public welfare; also to prove that under our machinery of government, if there are widespread abuses in local or general administrations, the guilt lies at the door of the individual citizens, because they did not do their personal duty in the particular field marked out for them by our system of laws. What is said about the powers of majorities and the rights of minorities, about general and special intelligences and duties, is for the purpose of scattering certain clouds under which we are apt to hide our duties from our own eyes.

Let us place ourselves where our fathers stood when they worked out our political system, and thus learn what they meant to do. A people thinly scattered over a continent, living under opposite conditions of climate, production, and domestic habits, were to be united for purposes of common defense and welfare. This could only be done by securing, to each section of a vast region, laws which would promote the prosperity of every part. Where was the wisdom to frame the laws to meet the wants so diversified and conflicting? They knew from experience that kings, lords, and commons, could not do it. Their failures led to the Revolution. They claimed no wisdom superior to that of Parliament, for that was the period when a host of orators and statesmen made Parliament glorious in British annals. The colonies were practically as remote from each other as from Britain, when obstacles to intercourse were taken into account. The necessities

of the case forced our fathers to frame their State and General governments upon principles the reverse of those which usually mark the polity of nations. Their theory takes away control from political centres, and distributes it to the various points that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields it to the remoter legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people. The local self-government under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, without becoming weak by its extension, is founded on these propositions. That government is most wise which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest, when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong, when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed. These are obvious truths, but how are they to be made available for practical purposes? It is in this that the wisdom of our institutions consists. In their progress, they are developing truths in government which have not only disappointed the hopes of our enemies, but dissipated the fears of our friends.

The good order of society, the protection of our lives and our property, the promotion of religion and learning, the enforcement of statutes, or the upholding of the unwritten laws of just moral restraints, mainly depend upon the wisdom of the inhabitants of townships. Upon such questions, so far as they particularly concern them, the people of the towns are more intelligent and more interested than those outside of their limits can be. The wisest statesmen, living and acting at the city of Washington, cannot understand these affairs, nor can they conduct them, so well as the citizens upon the ground, although they may be unlearned men. What is true of one town is true of the other ten thousand towns in the United States. When we shall have twenty thousand towns, this system of government will in no degree become overloaded or complicated. There will be no more then for each citizen to do than now. Our town officers in the aggregate are more important than Congressmen or Senators. Hence, the importance to our government of religion, morality,

and education, which enlighten and purify the governed and the governors at the same time, and which must ever constitute the best securities for the advancement and happiness of our country. Township powers and duties educate and elevate those who exercise them. The next organizations in order and importance are boards of county officers, who control questions of a local character, but affecting a greater number than the inhabitants of single towns. The people of each county are more intelligent and more interested in what concerns their own affairs than any amount of wisdom or of patriotism outside of it. The aggregate transactions of county officers are more important than those of our State Legislatures. When we have secured good government in towns and counties, most of the objects of government are gained. In the ascending scale of rank, in the descending scale of importance, is the Legislature, which is, or should be, limited to State affairs. Its greatest wisdom is shown by the smallest amount of legislation, and its strongest claims for gratitude grow out of what it does not do. Our General Government is remarkable for being the reverse of every other. Instead of being the source of authority, it only receives the remnant of power after all that concerns town, county, and State jurisdictions, has been distributed. Its jurisdiction, although confined within narrow limits, is of great dignity, for it concerns our national honor and provides for the national defense. We make this head of our system strong when we confine its action to those objects which are of general interest, and prevent its interference with subjects upon which it cannot act with intelligence. If our General Government had the power which is now divided between town, county, and State jurisdiction, its attempts at their exercise would shiver it into atoms. If it were composed of the wisest and purest men the world ever saw, it could not understand all the varied interests of a land as wide as all Europe, and with as great a diversity of climate, soil, and social condition. The welfare of the several communities would be sacrificed to the ignorance or prejudices of those who had no direct concern in the laws they imposed upon others.

The theory of self-government is not founded upon the idea that the people are necessarily virtuous and intelligent, but it attempts to distribute each particular power to those who have

the greatest interest in its wise and faithful exercise. Such distribution is founded on the principle that persons most interested in any matter manage it better than wiser men who are not interested. Men act thus in their private concerns. When we are sick we do not seek the wisest man in the community, but the physician who is best acquainted with our disorder and its remedies. If we wish to build, we seek not the most learned man, but the man most skillful in the kind of structure we desire to erect; and, if we require the services of an agent, the one is best for us who is best acquainted with our wants, and most interested in satisfying them. The Bible intimates this course when it says that a man can judge better in relation to his own affairs than seven watchmen on a high tower. This principle not only secures good government for each locality, but it also brings home to each individual a sense of his rights and responsibilities; it elevates his character as a man; he is taught self-reliance; he learns that the performance of his duty as a citizen is the corrective for the evils of society, and is not led to place a vague, unfounded dependence upon legislative wisdom. It not only makes good government, but it also makes good manhood. Under European governments, but few feel that they can exert any influence upon public morals or affairs; here every one knows that his character and conduct will at least affect the character of the town in which he lives. While the interests of each section are thus secured, and the citizen is educated by duties, the General Government is strengthened and made enduring by lifting it above invidious action, and making it the point about which rally the affections and pride of the American people, as the exponent to the world at large of our common power, dignity, and nationality.

Under this system our country has attained its power, its prosperity, and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world. It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of fresh-water lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores, and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government meets every local want of this vast region; it gives energy, enterprise, and freedom, to each community, no matter how remote or

small. And this is done so readily and so peaceably that the process resembles the great and beneficent operations of Nature.

This plan of carrying down classes of duties to those who have a special intelligence with regard to them, and peculiar interest in their wise and honest execution, is a wonderful educational system, without which it would be difficult to carry on our governments. Its workings are more clearly seen in the country than in cities. In many instances in our new and wild settlements, uneducated men have been made school-trustees, holding their meetings in log-houses or in other humble tenements. All have been struck with their efforts to act wisely, stimulated by their anxiety for their children. The writer has watched such men as they gradually gained knowledge of town laws. He has seen them fill different local offices, become members of county boards and of the State Legislature. As Governor of New York, he found them better grounded and versed in all that relates to legislation than many who have had the advantages of wealth and of education in academic or collegiate form, but who have never been placed in positions where they have taken part in the work of local duties. The plain men thus educated are those who, within a few years, have gone to the West, and have founded, organized, and set in operation great States. They have done wisely what would be deemed works of statesmanship in other parts of the world. Many of us remember when Illinois, now the third State in importance in our Union, was but a part of a vast wild territory. The immigrants, trained in town duties, made their homes there. In a little time they built up a State, one of the most prosperous in the Union, adorned with cities, and enlightened by learning and religion, with more railroads than most of the empires of Europe. Yet this great work has been done as quietly as if it were a matter of course, and with the same ease with which they built houses and barns and fences.

While we differ about the rights of the States or of the General Government under the Constitution, we agree that there is a distribution of jurisdictions; that all the forms of local government spoken of do exist. The purpose is to inquire what duties these distributions impose upon each, and how far their honest, patriotic performance will work out reforms in government, and bring back simplicity, economy, and integrity, in the conduct of

public affairs. It is not only believed that this can be done, but that we have already made progress in that direction. Wrongs no longer can be perpetrated with impunity, which aroused no resistance but a little time since. This is true alike of local, State, and national affairs. Put back into power the men who plundered the city of New York ; give them all the advantages of the laws, organizations, and alliances, they then had, and they could not hold their ground for a single day. No one would now venture upon the plunder of the national Treasury by *Crédit Mobilier* or kindred schemes, or would dare to destroy our great channels of commerce in New York by fraudulent contracts.

We do not now ask what should be done by State or General governments. We reverse the inquiry, to learn what each citizen should do where the control of majorities is restrained and the rights of minorities and individuals guarded, where a field of duty is marked out for every man, and where the spirit and genius of our institutions demand that the special intelligence of each citizen shall be used to promote the general welfare? We must look to this groundwork whenever we seek to correct public abuses, or to reform the administration of State or national affairs. When the lofty spire of some temple of religion sways from the true line, we do not discuss the influence which its pinnacles exert in throwing it from its proper position, but we look to the condition of its base and buttresses, and spend our labor there to restore its uprightness, for we know that there we shall find the causes of threatened danger. Bad government is the logical result of bad morals or neglect of duty by the constituency. Men in office do not corrupt the people so often as the people corrupt officials. The men who plundered the city of New York of many millions could not have done so if there had not been a state of public morals, of wild speculative excitements, a greed for gold no matter how gained, which suggested and favored all their schemes. They were made bold by seeing transactions in all the walks of life, in personal and business circles and in all departments of State and national government, which were akin to their own. They had no business skill, sagacity, or experience. They did not make corruption ; corruption made them. The same causes existing all over our country produced the like results. Citizens here and elsewhere did not do their home duties ;

they did not use their special intelligence to check wrong in their own neighborhood. We were all swept away by the spirit of speculation, extravagance, and indulgence. Bad governments are the results, the punishments, and, we hope, the remedies, for this wide-spread demoralization. They impose the penalties for neglect. God in his goodness does not permit nations to be happy and prosperous when governments are corrupt and citizens are indifferent. Indifference on the part of the public makes corruption in officials. Slight changes in public morals act with intensified force at political capitals, as slight contractions or expansions in the bulb of the thermometer make great changes in the rise and fall of the slender column of mercury which marks the temperature. For a like reason any loss or gain in the morals of a people is potent for good or evil in the conduct of public affairs.

So completely does the state of the public mind shape legislation and official action, that it is more correct to say that laws are passed through Congress or State Legislatures than it is to say they are passed by them. They are conduits rather than enacting agencies. The opinions which suggest, the minds which shape, the wills which demand their passage, are outside of legislative halls. The great business interests of the country, the sentiments of the people, the tone of public morality, give form and hue to political action. Hence all acts of official corruption are justly looked upon by the world as stains upon the American character, every committal of crime an indictment of the American people. Hard times and general distress are the remedies which cure public ills. They teach that neglect of duties and disregard of obligations to society are expensive, and thwart our very schemes for gain or self-indulgence. The influences of such distribution, and of the use of special intelligence in the performance of official work, reach beyond the lines marked out by statute-books. They educate us to do many things which elsewhere are thought to be the work of government. To get clear views of the genius of our political institutions, we must look not only at written constitutions and laws, but also at the unwritten laws of usage which grow out of them.

More is done to promote the public welfare outside of the domain of laws than by force of their enactments. Churches,

colleges, academies, hospitals, and a thousand charities, are organized and upheld by the funds of individuals and by the care of unofficial and largely of unpaid influences. Their positions, forms, religious or educational aspects, are all determined by the special intelligence of the particular communities in which they exist. They make the bases of our social and political system. Beyond all other influences they govern and save society from disorder and corruption. The restraints in our Constitution against any tyranny by majorities, the safeguard thrown around the rights of minorities and individuals, the freedom of conscience and worship, the sacredness of persons, the sanctity of homes, the liberty of speech and action, the distribution of political duties, the policy of using for the public welfare the special intelligence of each citizen, all point in one direction, and bring home to every man his personal duty to serve the public, to promote its virtue, its prosperity, and its glory, in some of the many paths which are open to him. These influences are not limited to the particular field in which he labors. Virtue is catching as well as vice. Good example is as potent as bad example. He who does his duty sheds a light which makes other men see their duties. The ways and means for public reform in morals, politics, or business, are not outside of the ordinary pursuits of life. They are at our firesides, they lie in our pathways, they exist in all of our business and social relationships.

The condition of our country is favorable to reform. All honest teachings tell upon the public mind. Argument is now enforced by suffering. The springs and sources of governmental power are under our control. The virtues of economy or of integrity which we practise ourselves we will require of our representatives. They will feel and respond to our demands. Reforms are not to be gained by railing at political parties, while neglecting our individual duties. This is a device by which we blind ourselves to truth. It is inconsistent with an honest self-respect. Neglect of political duty is but a shade better than violation of official duty. It grows out of a lack of true manhood, a want of sense and virtue, and a feeling that personal and social position do not make men equal to the work of battling with wrong. The strength of Britain in no small degree is

owing to the fact that the Peers of the realm meet in many ways the rough duties of political struggles.

Political parties are, in public affairs, what John Doe and Richard Roe used to be in legal proceedings, fictitious names to conceal the real actors. We are too apt to satisfy our consciences and blind ourselves to our own neglect by railing at them. As parties embrace the whole population, why not say that the American people have been corrupted, or made extravagant, or indifferent to their obligations as citizens? This is what the future historian will say of this period. Shall we not also make him say that this sad condition was followed by a revival of national virtues, and that the beginning of the second century of our existence as a people was marked by a return of the integrity and patriotism which inspired our fathers one hundred years ago?

The social, political, and business evils which affect our country are not to be cured by political strategy nor by any tricks of statesmanship. No country can be legislated out of distress, crime, or poverty. No laws in civilized countries are potent for good which do not emanate from the sentiments, habits, and virtues of the people. They demand personal, fireside, and local reforms. They cannot be made by others for us. They must be wrought out by each man in the use of his special intelligence and personal power, in office and out of it, in all forms of unselfish work for the general welfare, in convention, upon the platform, in the pulpit, and through the press. The immigrants of varied lineages and creeds who come to our shores excite fears in the minds of some. These spring from narrow prejudices. All phases of civilization give broader views about social, religious, and political questions. Men of loyal faith in our Government feel that this mingling of European races on this continent will give us higher civilization, greater power and prosperity, than have yet been seen in the history of the world.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.